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Interviews: 821 adults
 Dates: September 15-16, 2001

48 Male
 52 Female
[109]

FINAL

Study #6019
 NBC/WSJ Terrorism Survey
 September 15-16, 2001

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.

The margin of error for 821 interviews is ±3.5%

***NOTE: Boxed questions (Q.5, 9b, 11, 14a, and 16) are for NBC use at 6:30 PM, Sunday evening.
 All other questions are for release 7:00 AM, Monday morning.***

Unless otherwise noted by a "+", all previous data shown reflects responses among all adults.

1. All in all, do you think that things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>9/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	<u>12/00</u>	<i>High 2/91+</i>	<i>Low 7/92+</i>	
Right direction.....	72	43	47	52	45	39	65	14	[138]
Wrong track.....	11	39	39	32	36	43	22	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	11	14	11	11	15	14	9	9	
Not sure.....	6	4	3	5	4	4	4	6	
		<u>10/00+</u>	<u>9/00+</u>	<u>7/00+</u>	<u>6/00+</u>	<u>4/00+</u>			
		48	51	48	44	44			
		32	29	32	38	34			
		18	16	17	15	19			
		2	4	3	3	3			

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

	<u>4/95</u>	<u>2/91</u>
Right direction.....	33	65
Wrong track.....	45	22
Mixed (VOL).....	15	9
Not sure.....	7	4

NOTE: 1995 data followed Oklahoma City bombing; 1991 data followed landing of ground troops in the Gulf War.

2. And when you think about the future of the country, would you say that you are mainly hopeful and optimistic or mainly worried and pessimistic?

	<u>9/01</u>	<u>11/98¹</u>	
Mainly hopeful and optimistic.....	79	58	[139]
Mainly worried and pessimistic.....	18	39	

Not sure..... 3 3

¹ Comparative data comes from a survey conducted on behalf of the Shell Corporation.

3. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing as president?

	<u>9/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	
Approve.....	82	50	56	57	[140]
Disapprove.....	12	35	30	22	
Not sure.....	6	15	14	21	

	<i>Bill Clinton</i> <u>4/95</u>	<i>George Bush</i> <u>2/91</u>	<i>John F. Kennedy</i> <u>5/61</u> ¹
Approve.....	50	85	77
Disapprove.....	39	11	8
Not sure.....	11	4	14

NOTE: 1995 data followed Oklahoma City bombing; 1991 data followed landing of ground troops in the Gulf War; 1961 data followed the Bay of Pigs invasion.

¹ Comparative data comes from a survey conducted by the Gallup Organization.

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the terrorist attacks against the United States in New York City and Washington, D.C.?

	<u>9/15-16/01</u>	<u>9/12/01</u>	
Approve.....	87	80	[141]
Disapprove.....	6	8	
Not sure.....	7	12	

5. How much confidence would you say you have in George Bush's ability to respond to Tuesday's terrorist attacks and manage this crisis--a great deal of confidence, quite a bit, just some, or very little confidence?

A great deal of confidence.....	50	[142]
Quite a bit of confidence.....	28	
Just some confidence.....	14	
Very little confidence.....	6	
Not sure.....	2	

6. And what is the ONE thing you would like to tell the President of the United States about what America should be doing following Tuesday's terrorist attacks? [143-149] *

Take your time, be patient, proceed with caution	11%
Keep up the good job, doing a great job	9
Make sure we have the people who are responsible, the right ones, the ones who did it	8
Go after terrorists and those who harbor them	8
Bomb them, kill them, retaliate, show no mercy	7
Don't know; no response	8%

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

7. Do you think that these terrorist attacks will have a major effect, a minor effect, or no real effect on whether the country experiences an economic recession?

	<u>9/15-16/01</u>	<u>9/12/01</u>	
Major effect.....	48	47	[150]
Minor effect.....	35	32	
No real effect.....	8	13	
Not sure.....	9	8	

8a. Now I'd like to read you a list of priorities. Please tell me which ONE you feel is the most important priority for the President and Congress to address this year.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Fighting terrorism.....	64	[151]
Strengthening the economy.....	20	
Reforming the education system.....	7	
Dealing with health care costs.....	6	
Not sure.....	3	

8b. President Bush has stated that fighting terrorism will now be the focus of his administration. Do you agree or disagree that it should be the focus of the Bush administration?

Agree, should be the focus.....	79	[152]
Disagree, should not be the focus.....	17	
Not sure.....	4	

9a. In your view, should the United States become more active in world affairs, less active in world affairs, or continue its current level of activity in world affairs?

	<u>9/01**</u>	<u>5/97¹</u>	<u>3/95¹</u>	
More active.....	37	17	17	[153]
Less active.....	14	32	34	
Current level.....	44	46	47	
Not sure.....	5	5	2	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

¹ Comparative data comes from surveys conducted on behalf of *The Wall Street Journal* and Nikkei.

9b. Have Tuesday's events made you think that the United States' relations toward Israel should be closer, more distant, or stay the same?

Closer.....	33	[154]
More distant.....	16	
Stay the same.....	42	
Not sure.....	9	

10. Do you believe that the United States is or is not at war with terrorists?

United States is at war.....	84	[155]
United States is not at war.....	13	
Not sure.....	3	

11. People across the country have been affected by Tuesday's attacks in many different ways. Which of the following statements comes closest to describing how you personally were affected by the attacks?

Statement A: You were directly affected by the attacks, meaning that you were worried that a family member or a friend of yours might have been a victim, and may have been killed, injured, or missing.

Statement B: You were indirectly affected by the attacks, meaning that an acquaintance was directly affected by the attacks.

Statement C: You do not know anyone who was affected, but you were deeply touched as an American and concerned about all the victims.

Statement A/directly affected.....	16	[156]
Statement B/indirectly affected.....	17	
Statement C/touched as an American.....	67	
None of the above (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	-	

12a. Are you worried that you or a member of your immediate family might become the victim of a terrorist attack?

Yes, worried.....	45	[157]
No, not worried.....	54	
Not sure.....	1	

12b. And how concerned are you that terrorists will commit acts of violence near where you live or work--are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, or not concerned?

	<u>9/01</u>	<u>4/95</u>	
Very concerned.....	27	31	[158]
Somewhat concerned.....	44	35	
Not concerned.....	28	34	
Not sure.....	1	-	

13. How worried are you that, if the United States launched a military strike against terrorist targets, terrorists would respond by striking again in America--very worried, fairly worried, only somewhat worried, or not very worried? *

Very worried.....	43	[159]
Fairly worried.....	22	
Only somewhat worried.....	22	
Not very worried.....	13	
Not sure.....	-	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

14a. Would you prefer that the United States retaliate for these attacks immediately, even if we are not completely sure who is specifically responsible, or do you think that the United States should not retaliate until we are completely sure who is specifically responsible even if that means we have to wait?

Retaliate immediately.....	15	[160]
Wait to be sure.....	81	
Not sure.....	4	

14b. Do you think that the United States should or should not take military action against a nation that knowingly allowed the terrorists who are responsible for these attacks to live in their country, even if the country played no role in the attack?

Should take military action.....	75	[161]
Should not take military action.....	15	
Not sure.....	10	

15a. Do you believe that these attacks represent a failure of the American intelligence and security systems, or do you believe that these attacks were beyond what is reasonable to expect the American intelligence and security systems to uncover?

	9/15-16/01	9/12/01	
Failure of intelligence system.....	47	41	[162]
Beyond what is reasonable to expect.....	45	49	
Not sure.....	8	10	

15b. Based on what you know, do you think that these attacks were committed by a band of independent terrorists, or do you think a national government is also involved?

Independent terrorists.....	36	[163]
National government also involved.....	51	
Not sure.....	13	

16. Do you think that the United States will ever capture or kill international terrorist Osama Bin Laden, or not?

Yes, will capture or kill.....	73	[164]
No, will never capture or kill.....	15	
Not sure.....	12	

17. Do you think that these terrorist attacks--**A**) should mainly be dealt with as a crime, to be handled by the FBI and the courts, or **B**) should mainly be dealt with as acts of war, to be handled by the CIA and the U.S. military?

Dealt with as a crime.....	9	[165]
Dealt with as acts of war.....	79	
Both (VOL).....	8	
Not sure.....	4	

18. Currently, there is an executive order that prohibits United States military and intelligence agencies from conducting assassinations of enemies abroad. Do you think that the United States military and intelligence agencies should or should not be allowed to conduct assassinations of enemies abroad?

Should be allowed.....	70	[166]
Should not be allowed.....	20	
Not sure.....	10	

19a. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld has criticized some government leaders for revealing classified information about the attacks and military plans to the public. Do you believe that the American public has a right to know all the information about the attacks and military plans, even if it might mean compromising investigations, or do you believe that government leaders should keep information confidential, even if it might mean that the public does not know important facts about the attacks and military plans? **

Public has a right to know.....	16	[167]
Government leaders should keep information confidential.....	80	
Not sure.....	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

19b. Do you believe that there should be increased penalties for government officials who reveal confidential information, or not? **

Yes, should be increased penalties.....	72	[168]
No, should not be increased penalties.....	19	
Not sure.....	9	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

20. Are you personally worried about traveling by commercial airplane because of the risk of terrorism, or do you think that the risk is not that great? (IF "YES, WORRIED," ASK:) Would you say that you are very worried or just somewhat worried?

Very worried.....	34	[169]
Somewhat worried.....	31	
Risk is not that great.....	33	
Not sure.....	2	

21. Would you support new laws to strengthen security measures against terrorism, even if that meant reducing privacy protections such as limits on government searches and wiretapping?

	9/01*	8/96+	
Yes, would support new security laws.....	78	69	[170]
No, would not support new security laws.....	14	23	
Not sure.....	8	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

22. I'm going to read you a list of actions that the United States might take to increase security. For each one, please tell me whether this is an action that you would be willing to accept or not willing to accept? **

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY WILLING TO ACCEPT

	Willing To <u>Accept</u>	Not Willing <u>To Accept</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Placing armed sky marshalls on all commercial airlines.....	92	6	2	[176]
Eliminating curbside check-in at airports.....	83	15	2	[171]
Increasing the price of airplane tickets to pay for new security measures.....	79	19	2	[175]
Surveillance of Internet communications.....	78	17	5	[174]
Eliminating carry-on luggage on flights.....	67	30	3	[172]
Wiretapping of phone calls without obtaining a court order.....	43	49	8	[173]

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

23a. Do you think that the United States should spend more money on a missile defense shield, more money on a military response to terrorism, or should it spend on both?

More on missile defense shield.....	3	[177]
More on military response to terrorism.....	25	
Spent it on both.....	66	
Not sure.....	6	

23b. Do you favor or oppose the United States' spending money on a military response to terrorism even if it means spending funds from the Social Security surplus? *

Favor.....	55	[178]
Oppose.....	36	
Not sure.....	9	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

23c. Do you favor or oppose the United States' spending money on a military response to terrorism even if it means rolling back some of the tax cuts that Congress passed this year? **

Favor.....	85	[179]
Oppose.....	10	
Not sure.....	5	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

24. Do you favor or oppose using federal funds to assist U.S. commercial airlines because of the economic problems they are experiencing due to the current shutdown of the air travel system? **

Favor.....	67	[180]
Oppose.....	23	
Not sure.....	10	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

25. I'm going to read you a list of potential threats that the United States might face in the next ten years. For each one, please tell me how likely a threat you think it is--very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely to occur in the next ten years.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY VERY LIKELY

	Very <u>Likely</u>	Somewhat <u>Likely</u>	Somewhat <u>Unlikely</u>	Very <u>Unlikely</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
The U.S. will need to mobilize a large attack on a country far away around the world.....	50	34	6	6	4	[213]
The U.S. will be attacked by terrorists in a similar way that it was attacked this week.....	41	34	12	11	2	[208]
The U.S. will face two major enemies at the same time the way it did during World War Two.....	29	32	17	17	5	[212]
The U.S. will be attacked within its borders by terrorists possessing nuclear or biological weapons.....	24	44	14	14	4	[211]
The U.S. will face an attack by a single nuclear missile from a terrorist or nation.....	16	41	21	19	3	[210]
The U.S. will face a full-scale attack by a large number of nuclear missiles from another major country.....	8	24	23	40	5	[209]

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. How old are you? (IF "REFUSED," ASK: Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to?

18-24.....	9	[214-215]
25-29.....	7	
30-34.....	9	
35-39.....	11	
40-44.....	11	
45-49.....	11	
50-54.....	10	
55-59.....	7	
60-64.....	6	
65-69.....	7	
70-74.....	5	
75 and over.....	5	
Refused.....	2	

F2. What is the last grade that you completed in school?

Grade school.....	-	[216-217]
Some high school.....	5	
High school graduate.....	32	
Some college, no degree.....	19	
Vocational training/2-year college.....	8	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	20	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2 or 3 years postgraduate work/master's degree....	10	
Doctoral/law degree.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F3. Are you currently employed? (**IF "CURRENTLY EMPLOYED," ASK:**) What type of work do you do?

(**IF NOT "CURRENTLY EMPLOYED," ASK:**) Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

<u>Currently Employed</u>	[218-219]
Professional, manager.....	24
White-collar worker.....	24
Blue-collar worker.....	17
Farmer, rancher.....	1
<u>Not Currently Employed</u>	
Student.....	4
Homemaker.....	6
Retired.....	19
Unemployed, looking for work.....	3
Other.....	-
Not sure.....	2

F4. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (**IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:**) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (**IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:**) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the Republican Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent?

	[226]
Strong Democrat.....	21
Not very strong Democrat.....	10
Independent/lean Democrat.....	7
Strictly independent.....	20
Independent/lean Republican.....	6
Not very strong Republican.....	9
Strong Republican.....	18
Other	4
Not sure/nothing.....	5

F5. Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself to be liberal, moderate, or conservative?

	[227]
Liberal.....	22
Moderate.....	41
Conservative.....	31
Not sure.....	6

F6a. Do you have any children under age 18 currently living in your household? (**IF "YES," ASK:**) And do you have children under the age of 6? Do you have children who are between the ages of 6 and 12? Do you have children who are between the ages of 13 and 17?

Yes, kids under six in household.....	15	[228]
Yes, kids between six and 12 in household.....	17	
Yes, kids between 13 and 17 in household.....	14	
No, no kids in household.....	61	CONTINUE >
Not sure.....	1	Skip to Q.F7

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN THE HOUSEHOLD IN Q.F6a.)

F6b. How much would you say that your children's feelings about their own safety and security have been affected by Tuesday's attacks--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or not at all?

Affected a great deal.....	18	[229]
Affected quite a bit.....	15	
Affected just some.....	38	
Not affected at all.....	28	
Not sure.....	1	

F7. How many roundtrip flights on a commercial airline have you taken in the past twelve months?

None.....	46	[230]
One or two.....	27	
Three to five.....	15	
Six to ten.....	6	
More than ten.....	5	
Not sure.....	1	

F8a. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	48	[231]
Catholic.....	31	
Jewish.....	3	
Other.....	12	
None.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F8b. How often do you attend services at a church, synagogue, or other place of worship?

Never.....	17	[232]
Once a year.....	7	
A few times a year.....	20	
Once a month.....	8	
About twice a month.....	8	
Once a week or more often.....	37	
Not sure.....	3	

F9a. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?

Yes.....	7	[233]
No.....	91	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F9b. What is your race--white, black, Asian, or something else?

White.....	81	[234]
Black.....	7	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	3	
Hispanic (VOL).....	5	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than ten thousand dollars, between ten thousand dollars and twenty thousand dollars, between twenty thousand dollars and thirty thousand dollars, between thirty thousand dollars and forty thousand dollars, between forty thousand dollars and fifty thousand dollars, between fifty thousand

dollars and seventy-five thousand dollars, between seventy-five thousand dollars and one hundred thousand dollars, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	3	[235]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	6	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	10	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	13	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	10	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	17	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	11	
More than \$100,000.....	11	
Not sure/refused.....	19	